34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 721 765 [727] [825] There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 701 727 554 624 [796] [342] A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *uwi* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*, or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 702 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[3]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then